233 fairly large and they assist materially in fertilizing wheatfields. Wheat farmers will pay about 30 centavos a night to have an average herd bedded on their fields. This is not done for cornlands, as the return is not considered sufficient.

No sheep owner gets his living from the ownership of sheep, but in some cases individuals or even entire families live on their wages as sheepherders. Most sheepherders, however, are boys of from 8 to 20 years and old men and women. Very poor families may start their sons to learn sheep herding as apprentices as early as 6 years of age.

Ordinarily sheepherders return to town only for fiestas or when they need new clothes. Their food is taken to them by a woman in the family. If the entire family work as shepherds, the wife returns to town periodically to [252] cook a supply of tortillas or *gordas* (thick tortilla fried in fat, sometimes made of wheat flour instead of maize).

233 The average wages of sheepherders are 5
465 pesos a month without food, but this evidently varies with the size of the flock. One of the larger owners, with a flock of about 200 sheep, pays 10 centavos a head a month, 1 *fanega* of maize, and permits slaughter of 1 sheep a month. In all cases, shepherds may eat sheep which die, if they think it safe to do so, but the pelt must be washed and dried, and given to the owner.

233 Shepherds watch one another to prevent mis-
[626] behavior, such as secretly selling sheep, or carelessness which would reflect on the profession. Shepherds care for the flocks, protect them from coyotes, and put the ownership marks on the lambs. They are aided by specially trained dogs.

Sheep are herded in the mountains part of the year, and on farm lands after the harvest. [422] Identification marks are made by notching or cutting the ears. Males are not castrated. During the dry season, numerous sheep die of starvation unless their owners have feed (usually wheat straw). Sheep are not dipped and in general receive little care beyond herding. Coyotes are the principal enemies, although a waggish informant listed the enemies of sheep [522] as "First, the coyote; second, the shepherd; and third, the man who buys him for food."

511 The motivations of consumption appear
181 several. Primary is the need of food, shelter, and clothing. For very poor families, this is virtually the only type of consumption. Food requirements are intimately linked with productive efforts. The basic necessities by Cherán standards are mostly produced by the family unit, and the processes are apart from the system of commerce and exchange. Any family unit regarded as meeting Cherán standards of living will also have other consumption motivations. Participation in the social and religious life of the community is perhaps the second most important consumption motive. Crisis periods, especially marriage, and the possession of a *mayordomía* are occasions for consumption of goods, often on a very large scale. Such consumption, however, comes not entirely in the category of "conspicuous expenditure" but rather as the fulfilling of a social duty. It is true that the wedding ceremony is designed to emphasize public display of the consumption involved; nevertheless, failure to give as elaborate a wedding as the means of a family justified would suggest to the inhabitants of Cherán either that the family was stingy or that the family disapproved of the match. Yet another interpretation might be that they did not regard the girl as socially acceptable, either because of the poverty of her family or because of her reputation. In one case observed, the bride's mother, a poor widow with few relatives, prepared to finance part of the wedding herself when she found the wealthy family of the groom was planning a modest ceremony. In this case
[626] the threatened action of the bride's mother precipitated so much gossip and unfavorable comment that the groom's family at the last minute greatly increased its expenditures for the wedding (and the bride's mother, incidentally, did not have to carry out her threats).

556 In general, wealthy people do not display
511 their wealth ostentatiously except through undertaking the more expensive *mayordomías* and giving the most elaborate weddings. Often the houses of wealthy persons are less pretentious than are those of the middle class. A man of the latter class with a large family may well operate a much more elaborate establishment than the wealthy man with a small family. The wealthy are apt to be envied in

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575 sciously fostered by some elements in the
794 Church, probably the same groups fostering the
Sinarquista movement in the adjoining region
668 of the Bajío north of Tarascan territory.[82]
578 Additional data on the change in attitude of the church in Cherán will be presented under religion.

## CONFLICT AND LAW

578 The people of Cherán are very reticent about
[186] conflicts within the town. Efforts are made to convince the outsider that the town is a harmonious unit, and it is very difficult to secure data to the contrary. The impression, after many months in Cherán, is that a great deal of hostility underlies the apparent harmony. In part, this is apparent in the prevalence of witchcraft and some of the evidence is presented under that heading. Interfamily and intrafamily jealousies and conflicts, however carefully concealed, cropped up time and again in casual remarks. Nevertheless, little definite information could be secured. Any efforts to pick up the small leads occurring in conversation were usually adroitly countered. Consequently, the material presented in this section consists primarily of the more overt conflicts which, under certain circumstances, lead to official interference.

578 A great variety of minor conflicts constantly
626 reach the office of the mayor. Many of these never pass the stage of discussion and informal settlement. For example, a man had been drunk all week, insulting people indiscriminately. One man finally struck the drunkard. The case was discussed at length. Some argued that the drunkard should be arrested. Others claimed that both should be arrested. Ultimately, nothing was done, but as anyone present in the *municipio* could enter the discussion, word probably got around to both parties. The drunkard's relatives probably restrained him and the man giving the blows kept out of sight.

695 Another case illustrates the handling of
685 minor offenses. A woman was brought before the acting mayor (the mayor's alternate), charged with stealing a blanket from a man while he was drunk. The woman was accused vigorously by the acting mayor but denied the

[82] Evidence for this statement cannot be given at this time.

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[p.153]


535 Child. The performer with the latter lines
796 was the only one who managed to make the
[538] crowd laugh. The remainder were greeted in
[626] silence or by asides criticizing their performance, especially several who had not learned their lines very well.

The dancers practiced at the house of the *carguero* of the Three Kings on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. The *carguero* provided food for all the performers. The ceremonies proper began on Sunday in the late afternoon. The following is the account of the proceedings as written by Agustín Rangel.

January 5, 1941. On Sunday we started for the Calvary from the house of the *carguero* at about 5 p. m. The Three Kings went on horseback. At the Calvary the Three Kings took the star (a star on the end of the pole). The King in the middle took the star and the Kings on either side took hold of a ribbon tied on each side. Then we started for the *carguero's* house where we were supposed to take the saint to the church. At the church we left the saint where a vespers was given for it. Then we started for the *carguero's* house where we danced. Then supper was served. Before we left, the *carguero* told us that on the next morning we had to be at his house about 6:30 a. m. [According to one informant, customarily the group should have danced at the church.]

January 6. I arrived at the *carguero's* house about 6:00 a. m. After a little, they told me to go around on some of the streets with the musicians and tell the other guys to hurry up and get over to the *carguero's* house. When the bell rang for the long Mass we all left for church. After the long Mass the priest told us we could not dance until after the Rosary. We then left for the *carguero's* house where we ate breakfast. After breakfast we danced at the *carguero's* house. ,We did nothing all day until after the Rosary. We went to the Rosary; after we came out we danced in the priest's house, then we danced in front of the church. After that we danced in front of the municipal building. From there we went to the house of the new *carguero* of the Holy Child where we danced and we were given oranges after we danced. Then we went home (to the *carguero's* house) where we danced before eating supper. Then we went home and were told to be at the *carguero's* house about 7:00 a. m.

January 7. On this morning we went to the church after the Mass. We were to take the Holy Kings to the house of the new *carguero*. We started from the church and we headed for the new *carguero's* house where we arrived and left it [the images] there. They told us to sit down and we were given *atole de cacao* (black atole). We danced before the atole was served and after that we left for the *carguero's* house to eat breakfast. After breafast we headed for the Calvary where we danced. Then we headed for Bruno Gaspar's house

556 garments. Alternatively, some of the clothing
585 may be sold if it is not apt to be needed for gifts. Informants estimated that each garment was exchanged two or three times; probably the estimate is conservative.

The third aspect of the wedding display involves the number of persons who attend.
[602] Every relative must attend a wedding if he
[578] does not wish to create hard feeling. Should a relative fail to appear, his own functions such as weddings, house movings, house roofings, or *mayordomías* would be boycotted by the persons he had affronted. At the wedding of the daughter of such a person as Rosalio Sánchez,
[572] representative of the town, very large numbers of nonrelatives attended in order to show their liking or admiration for the father. Friendship is likewise clearly demonstrated by attending the wedding of a nonrelative.

626 Resentment and avoidance seem to be the
585 only methods of retaliation for neglect at Cherán. In many other towns there are probably more direct methods. In Charapan, at least, relatives who do not attend a wedding are sought out by their fellows and forcibly brought to the wedding where they have to parade through the kitchen bearing a water bucket.

585 Essential to every wedding, even the simplest, is the marriage manager. In a larger wedding the arrangements are too complex to be known properly to most people and the successful carrying out of the wedding depends on his ability. A fee is paid the marriage manager for his services; the amount apparently was not ascertained, for it does not appear in the notes, but it probably is fairly generous, for the most active of the few marriage managers, Gregorio Castillo, is a fairly prosperous individual.

585 As a neutral third party, the marriage man-
584 ager also smooths over differences of opinion more successfully than the principals could ordinarily do face to face. This is especially marked when the bride's father is annoyed with the theft of his daughter. For example, at one "pardon," the father had left for the mountains and only an uncle of the girl was in the house. He claimed to be sick and refused to come out of the house for some time. When he did, he gave evidence of anger. Then Don Gregorio